

## Message Text

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ACTION CU-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 NAS-01

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9998

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

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STATE FOR CU/EE; EUR/SOV; LENINGRAD FOR P&C; USIA FOR IEU

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OEXC, UR

SUBJECT: VISIT OF BFS MEMBER JAMES BILLINGTON--MEETING WITH F.I.

DOLGIKH

REF: (A) MOSCOW 16101 (B) MOSCOW

1. SUMMARY: REFTELS REPORTED ON BILLINGTON'S MEETING WITH ARBATOV, TIMOFEYEV, LEBEDINSKIY, BAZHANOV, AND KHOKHLOV. MEETING WITH DOLGIKH, HEAD OF MAIN ARCHIVAL ADMINISTRATION (MAA) WAS BOTH USEFUL IN TERMS OF PROVIDING POSSIBILITY FOR LATER DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN EMBASSY AND MAA ON EXCHANGEES' ARCHIVAL PROBLEMS AND REVEALING IN TERMS OF SOVIETS' TREATMENT OF BILLINGTON VISIT. END SUMMARY.

2. FILIP IVANOVICH DOLGIKH HAS SINCE 1972 SERVED AS CHIEF OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS'S MAIN ARCHIVAL ADMINISTRATION. HE IS ALSO APPARENTLY A SECTION CHIEF IN THE SCIENCE AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS DEPARTMENT OF THE CPSU CC. DOLGIKH RECENTLY RETURNED FROM A VISIT TO THE U.S. WHERE HE ATTENDED AN INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVAL CONGRESS AND WAS ENTERTAINED BY

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BILLINGTON AT THE WILSON CENTER.

3. DOLGIKH WELCOMED BILLINGTON, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED TO THE OCTOBER 14 MEETING BY THE ACAO/EXCHANGES, LIKE AN OLD FRIEND. HE WAS QUITE JOVIAL AND FRIENDLY BUT HIS VENEER SHOWED SIGNS OF CRCKING WHEN, IN SPITE OF INSISTENT AND REPEATED PRODDING, HIS ASSISTANT M. Y. KAPRAN WAS UNABLE TO PROVIDE HIM IN WRITTEN FORM THE NAME OF "MY GOOD FRIEND HERE" WHEN IT CAME TIME FOR DOLGIKH TO INSCRIBE FOR BILLINGTON A GIFT COPY OF A NEW ARCHIVAL ADMINISTRATION PUBLICATION.

4. FROM THE VERY BEGINNING IT WAS APPARENT THAT DOLGIKH FULLY INTENDED TO MONOPOLIZE THE CONVERSATION. HE SPOKE AT GREAT LENGTH ABOUT THE WASINGTON CONFERENCE AND THE PROSPECTS FOR SOVIET-AMERICAN COOPERATION ON A HISTORY OF RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS. BILLINGTON MANAGED TO SLIP IN A FEW BRIEF QUESTIONS ALONG THE WAY AS DOLGIKH THEN MOVED ON TO DESCRIBE SOME RECENT ARCHIVAL FINDS DATING FROM THE 10TH CENTURY AND TO DISCUSS THE APPOINTMENT OF A NEW DIRECTOR AT TSGADA, ONE AVTOKRATOVA.

5. FINALLY, AFTER DOLGIKH HAD RAMBLED ON FOR OVER AN HOUR AS HIS ASSISTANT DREW OWLS ON THE BACK OF HIS NOTED PAD, BILLINGTON INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT WHILE HE FOUND ALL THESE MATTERS OF GREAT INTEREST HE DID WISH TO RAISE A FEW POINTS REGARDING THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM BETWEEN THE U.S. AND USSR BEFORE HE HAD TO LEAVE FOR HIS NEXT MEETING. BILLINGTON THEN EXPLAINED CAREFULLY TO A CONFUSED LOOKING DOLGIKH, AND A STILL-DOODLING KAPRAN, THE NATURE AND ROLE OF THE BFS. A VISIT TO THE ARCHIVAL ADMINISTRATION WAS NECESSARY, BILLINGTON SAID, BECAUSE OF THE MANY DIFFICULTIES WHICH AMERICAN SCHOLARS HAD IN OBTAINING ACCESS TO VARIOUS SOVIET ARCHIEVES.

6. DOLGIKH WAS INCREDULOUS. HE RESPONDED THAT EACH YEAR "SIXTY OR SEVENTY SATISFIED AMERICAN SCHOLARS" WRITE HIM LETTERS OF APPRECIATION FOR "ALL THE HELP EXTENDED TO THEM BY MAA PERSONNEL." DOLGIKH THEN DISPATCHED KAPRAN TO BRING EXAMPLES WHILE HE TALKED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ON AND ON.

7. KAPRAN RETURNED EMPTY-HANDED AND DOLGIKH THEN FINALLY LISTENED AS BILLINGTON EXPLAINED THAT HE COULDN'T SPEAK FOR THE SIXTY OR SEVENTY SATISFIED SCHOLARS A YEAR BUT WAS AWARE THAT MANY SCHOLARS RETURNED HOME WITH COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE LACK OF ACCESS TO NECESSARY MATERIALS. DOLGIKH ASKED UNDER

WHAT AUSPICES SCHOLARS WERE IN USSR AND IF BILLINGTON WOULD PROVIDE SPECIFIC EXAMPLES. EMBOFF EXPLAINED THAT MOST OF THE SCHOLARS WHO HAVE DIFFICULTIES WERE IN USSR UNDER MHE AUSPICES, AND THAT, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT HAVE A LIST OF SPECIFIC CASES WITH HIM AT THE TIME, HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO PROVIDE A LIST OF PARTICULARS REGARDING THOSE WHO HAD NOT ONLY NOT RECEIVED MATERIALS BUT WHO HAD COME TO THE USSR WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT ACCESS TO CERTAIN ARCHIVES HAD BEEN GRANTED ONLY TO LEARN AFTER ARRIVAL THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE.

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8. AFTER A CAUSTIC REMARK THAT HE THOUGHT DIPLOMATIS PREPARED IN ADVANCE FOR MEETINGS, DOLGIKH REPLIED THAT "ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS" CAN HAPPEN EVERYWHERE. AS AN EXAMPLE HE CITED THE FACT THAT HIS ROOM IN THE HILTON HOTEL IN WASHINGTON HAD NOT BEEN READY FOR HIM UPON HIS RECENT ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON. HE EXPLAINED THAT HE ALONG HAD KEPT THE SOVIET DELEGATION FROM RETURNING HOME IN PROTEST PRIOR TO THE ARCHIVAL CONFERENCE IN RESPONSE TO THIS OBVIOUSLY INTENTIONAL INSULT. DOLGIKH THEN BROUGHT OUT THE OLD ARGUMENT THAT THERE ARE CLOSED ARCHIVES EVERYWHERE, CITING THE HOOVER COLLECTION AT STANFORD AS AN EXAMPLE. HE SAID THAT HE, TOO, HAD ARCHIVES WHICH WERE PERMANENTLY

CLOSED AND THAT HE, TOO, HAD A STAFF MEMBER (APTELEV) WHO RETURNED FROM AN EIGHT-MONTH VISIT TO THE U.S. HAVING SEEN "NOTHING." UNDER QUESTION BY EMBOFF THIS WAS LATER MODIFIED TO "NOTHING OF INTEREST TO US." DOLGIKH DID IN THE END AGREE, HOWEVER, TO AN ARCHIVAL ADMINISTRATION REVIEW OF U.S. SCHOLARS' COMPLAINTS.

9. BILLINGTON THANKED DOLGIKH FOR THE EXTENDED DISCUSSION AND SAID HE FELT IT HAD BEEN UNFORTUNATE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THAT "OTHER SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS" HAD NOT SHOWN A SIMILAR WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE HIM. DOLGIKH ASKED BILLINGTON TO EXPLAIN, WHEREUPON BILLINGTON RELATED STORY OF ACADEMY NON-RECEPTION. DOLGIKH LISTENED AND THEN RESPONDED THAT THERE MUST HAVE BEEN SOME MISTAKE, ADDING THE SPECULATION THAT "THE EMBASSY PROBABLY DIDN'T REQUEST THE MEETING IN THE RIGHT MANNER." EMBOFF ASSURED DOLGIKH THAT THE ACADEMY HAD BEEN SENT LETTERS AND THAT UP TILL THE LAST MINUTE BEFORE BILLINGTON'S ARRIVAL ALL SEEMED TO BE IN ORDER. EMBOFF TOLD DOLGIKH OF ACADEMY'S PHONE MESSAGE (REPORTED EARLIER) AND, IN RESPONSE TO DOLGIKH'S QUESTION IDENTIFIED SHALIMOV OF ACADEMY FOREIGN SECTION AS DELIVERER OF BAD NEWS.

10. DOLGIKH, SAYING HE SIMPLY COULDN'T UNDERSTAND WHAT HAD GONE WRONG, DISPATCHED KAPRAN TO PHONE THE ACADEMY. SHORTLY AFTER KAPRAN LEFT THE ROOM, DOLGIKH FIRMLY SUGGESTED A FIVE-MINUTE "BREAK" IN THE DISCUSSION AND ASKED BILLINGTON AND EMBOFF "TO TAKE A WALK". DOLGIKH THEN OBVIOUSLY MADE HIS OWN FAST PHONE CALL TO CHECK ON SITUATION IN PARALLEL TO KAPRAN.

11. BILLINGTON BY THIS TIME WAS ALREADY AN HOUR LATE FOR HIS NEXT APPOINTMENT. WHEN HE AND EMBOFF WERE ESCORTED BACK INTO DOLGIKH'S OFFICE AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE CALL, BILLINGTON TRIED TO COMPLETE THE DISCUSSION AND MOVE ON. DOLGIKH WAS OBVIOUSLY UNMOVED BY BILLINGTON'S MENTION OF KEEPING THE DIRECTOR OF THE TRETYAKOV GALLERY WAITING AND INSISTED THAT HE AND BILLINGTON WOULD NOW CONTINUE THEIR DISCUSSION. BILLINGTON PERSISTED, HOWEVER, AND THE DISCUSSION FINALLY ENDED WITH DOLGIKH EXPLAINING THAT IN FACT "THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES WOULD NOT RECEIVE DR. BILLINGTON AND THE EMBASSY KNEW WHY." BILLINGTON AND EMBOFF CONFESSED COMPLETE IGNORANCE OF REASONS FOR NON-RECEPTION AT ACADEMY, AT WHICH POINT DOLGIKH

REPLIED "YOUR CHARGE D'AFFAIRES KNOWS THE REASON."

12. BILLINGTON AND DOLGIKH DEPARTED ON FRIENDLY TERMS,  
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IN SPITE OF THE FORCEFULNESS OF THE MESSAGE DOLGIKH  
APPARENTLY GOT DURING HIS BRIEF PHONE CALL. KAPRAN,  
HOWEVER, LOOKED RATHER TENSE WHEN THE DISCUSSION  
RESUMED AFTER THE TELEPHONE CHECKS. WHILE KAPRAN  
SEEMINGLY CHECKED WITH THE ACADEMY, DOLGIKH QUICKLY  
REACHED SOMEONE WHO WAS AWARE OF MFA REPLY TO EMBASSY APPROACHES.

13. MEETING WITH DOLGIKH WAS USEFUL ONE. BILLINGTON  
PROMISED TO ENCOURAGE THE JOINT HISTORY OF RUSSIAN-  
AMERICAN RELATIONS PROJECT AND DOLGIKH PROMISED TO REVIEW  
ARCHIVAL PROBLEMS. EMBASSY WISHES TO PROCEED QUICKLY  
NOW AND WOULD APPRECIATE IREX ASSISTANCE IN ASSEMBLING  
CATALOG OF ARCHIVAL TURN-DOWNS AND/OR CASES OVER LAST  
FEW YEARS OF NON-ACCESS AFTER SCHOLAR ARRIVED WITH  
UNDERSTANDING THAT ARCHIVES WOULD BE AVAILABLE. IREX  
SHOULD ALSO PREPARE FOR EMB TO TRANSMIT DIRECTLY TO MAA  
COMPLETE LIST OF TOPICS AND ARCHIVAL REQUESTS FOR SCHOLARS  
NOMINATED FOR 1977-79 GS/YF AND SENIOR EXCHANGES AND  
BE PREPARED TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH MAA ON ACCESS DURING  
NEXT SPRING'S PLACEMENT TALKS. EMB WOULD APPRECIATE  
RECEIVING FROM DEPT. DETAILS OF ANY APPROACHES TO  
DOLGIKH ON ARCHIVAL ACCESS QUESTION DURING HIS RECENT  
VISIT TO U.S.  
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